A similar division into northernmost and southernmost is recorded consistently in our 18th century sources (D'Orbigny, 1839-47, 1: 68; Cox, 1868, p. 140; Hudson, 1872, p. 70; Lista, 1879 a, p. 75, 1879 b, p. 74; Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290). According to Lehmann-Nitsche (1908, p. 220), the northern and southern Tehuelche were called by the southernmost *Pâ'kokin's* and *Aónikin's* respectively.

In the 19th century the two divisions spoke dialects differing as widely that members of one division could only with difficulty, if at all, understand those of the other (Musters Lubrecht, 1888, p. 80; Barrère, 1890-98, 1: 230). According to our more recent sources from Cox on, dialectic differentiation, though not predictable, was less marked. There was also a third dialect, *Tô'wokin* (Tôwuh, Tôkuuh, Tôkuukun, Tôwunun, Tôkuukinnik, Tôwuhnun, Tô-wuhnun). This dialect, according to Cox, was spoken long ago, and in 1868 was still spoken by some of the oldest Tehuelche in addition to the usual Tehuelche language (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910, p. 888; Cox, 1868, p. 140; cf. Musters and Falkner, in Cox, 1868 a, pp. 233-274). In 1901 the *Tô'wokin* dialect was still spoken by other men, but was not understood by the younger Tehuelche-speaking generation (Thomasset, C., 1901, p. 888). Tehuelche with its dialects constitutes, together with Ona and its own dialects, the Independent (Non Ergative) family.

Since the middle of the 18th century, the northern boundary of the Tehuelche has gently consistently been put at or around the Río Negro (Musters Lubrecht, 1888, p. 80; Cordini, 1880, pp. 145-146; Barrère, 1890-98, 1: 230; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 70; D'Orbigny, 1839-47, 1: 68; 333, words in *AP* & Int.; Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290; Cox, 1868, p. 202; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908, p. 220). To be more exact, the territory of the Tehuelche in historic times appears to have extended over the whole of Patagonia from the Río Negro and its affluent, the Río Limay, to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the continent. In the middle 18th century, the Tehuelche may have extended on the Atlantic side, at least as coastal occupants, a little further north than the Río Negro, to the Río Colorado, to judge from the reports of Cordini (1780, p. 270) and Musters Lubrecht (1888, p. 80). In the second half of the 19th century, Araucanian-speaking peoples extended from the Andean piedmont across the lower south of Lake Nahuel-Huapí and the Río Limay. (Musters, 1871, over-1872, p. 188; cf. Cox, 1868, pp. 94, 206, and La Verde, 1880, map and gazetteer.)

The dividing line between the Inland and Sea Tehuelche on the Atlantic side in the middle 17th century was about 200 leagues south and east of the Río Negro (Cordini, 1780, p. 68). The dividing line between the great northern and southern bodies in the second half of the 19th century was the Río Chubut according to Cox (1868, p. 140) and Lista (1879 a, p. 75; cf. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910, p. 220), the Río Santa Cruz according to Moreno (1879, p. 294; cf. Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290).

[6] Tehuelche population.—Population data on the Tehuelche are very sparse indeed. An ingenious particular groups of the Tehuelche, Barrère (1890, 1: 81) estimated at 1,000 the number of Indians at Port San Julian in 1780; Moreno (1879, p. 294), at about 1,000 the band with whom he travelled in 1876. As regards the whole Tehuelche tribe, the estimates in our records are the following: Viedma (1837 b, p. 70), 4,000 souls, in 1780-90; Musters (1871, p. 188), less than 4,000 souls in four years, in about 1870; D'Orbigny (1839-47, 1: 67; c. 300), 4,000 to 5,000 souls, in 1830; Pâ-tsi-kay (1908, 1: 181), four groups of about 400 adults each, with a rather large proportion of children, and with women outnumbering men three to one, in 1900; Cox (1868, p. 202), about 1,000 souls, in 1868-69; Gusinde (1918, p. 20), 2,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1918; Cox (1868, p. 140), about 4,000 souls, in

Ona (1) PATAGONIAN AND FUEGIAN ECOTYPES—COOPER 131

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

But to convey a clear understanding of the relations between the tribes which will be mentioned in the ensuing pages, it is as well here briefly to distinguish them. In the various maps and accounts of Patagonia extant, numerous tribes, with different names, are marked and recorded. These accounts, so far as my observations enable me to judge, have arisen from the custom of parties of the tribe combining to travel or fight under the leadership of a particular chief, and being described by themselves, when met with, by his name. I have been enabled to recognise thus the Moluches, who were so called from Maloehoe, a hereditary chief of that name; and the celebrated chief Lenketreu united under the leadership men of several tribes, and is said to have commanded 1,500 men in his great raid on the Rio Negro settlements. There are now between the Rio Negro and the Straits about 800 fighting men, giving at a rough estimate a population of about 3,000. The Tehuelches, or Patagonians proper, exclusive of the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who are distinct, though they may be of the same original stock—are divided into two great tribes, the Northern and Southern. They speak the same language, but are distinguishable by difference of accent, and the Southern men appear to be, on an average, taller and finer men, and are more expert hunters with the bolas. The Northern range chiefly over the district between the Cordillera and the sea; from the Rio Negro on the north to the Chupat, occasionally descending as far as the Santa Cruz River. The Southern occupy the country south of the Santa Cruz, and migrate as far as Punta Arena. The two divisions, however, are much intermixed and frequently intermarry; always, notwithstanding, preserving their clannish division, and taking opposite sides in the frequent quarrels. Our party was composed in almost equal parts of both Northern and Southern, and one inmate of our toldo was a Southern named Hammamm, a brother of Mrs. Orkeke. From the Rio Negro as far as the Chupat, another tribe, speaking a different language, is met

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche SHS

in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all 278
doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a poro
boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg.

Inquirers into the Tzoneca language are referred to the 97
vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most
distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa
or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I
could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted
with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work,
which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded
to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the
hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being
Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by
him.

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the 61
pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia
does not exceed 1,800 men, women, and children, according
to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when
the union of all the various parties, combined during my
journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them
with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern
and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given,
are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders.
Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the named parties,
combined by custom or often by chance. The population is
steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease
and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of ex-
tirpation of this race.

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood 421
that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head 422
cacique, such as Calfucura, or any other, though they may
agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are
they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politi-
cally united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their
natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas
of 'one man being as good as another.' Casimiro's dying

3: Masters T-S (1869-1870) 1872
SI65 Tehuelche SI65
Fuegia SI 10

and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,000.

Pampas.—North of the Senguel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Puelch Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelches. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehues of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pouch containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

3: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SHS Tehuelche SHS

The skirts and shirt articles
were credited to women and by the women for cleaning skins, 324
and dates for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the 173
migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible 91
to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or war- 161 •
fare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were assembled for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notice of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark. 280

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monckton, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Chadsworth, Dr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

S: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

pounded weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor 'even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie. If the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, tobisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Ozma. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is probable that these parts are

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164 MORBIDITY--incidence, nature, and distribution of various diseases and accidents (e.g., by location, season, sex, age, occupation); occurrence of epidemics; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to diseases; dental ailments; etc.
See also:

Morbidity as a social problem	73	Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies . . .	146
Theory and treatment of disease	75	Incidence of neuroses and psychoses	150
Care of infants and children	85	Public health	766

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4
Alacaluf SH2

1888-89; Masters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 206), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869-70; Borg (1873, p. 371), 200 [2,000-?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878-79; Roseagli (1884, p. 760), 300 [warriors-?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 129), perhaps about 200 souls, in 1884, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896-99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,500 to 1,600 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Mutis, Fitz-Roy, Masters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts.

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiher (1920, p. 115) as of 1913-14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1946).

In 1839 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1909-12, according to D'Orbigny (1839-47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 135-136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiher (1920, p. 115) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913-14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and mate-maize, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Cancahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnee* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91-92, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195-196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827-30 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833-34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 23-24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 236, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno (1873, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche*; Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 136, 268-269), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaiaurú* mentioned by Cox (1902, p. 165)

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 619 with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penek,' whence I believe the name Puhuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province A 101 of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep 231 cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes A till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit 273 Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable T cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the bean 273 of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their 439 stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trad 164 at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

800 We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Aries arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Aries, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, apropos of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengel river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was observed, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin mule, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was tied, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. 'On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete somersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the treacherous morass.

After Orrica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlements. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they do not devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also
[253] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are
263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they
[164] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

261 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton-
264 ous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly
000 a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife. Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I explained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.

With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and sometimes employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-
kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimé's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimé, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Chocoque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and piñones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of march cliffs, which stood out in the plains in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

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being able to get dry; and in addition to our previous discomfort, towards evening a frost set in, and when I woke up about midnight to look round for the horses my mantle was like a board.

I kindled a fire, as the weather was now clear, and soon all the party were huddled round it to warm their half-frozen limbs before lying down again.

The next morning at daylight, thoroughly chilled and hungry, two of us started to fetch the horses, some of the new ones having, as we expected, found their way back to within a few miles of the Rio Limay. However, by the time the sun had risen to sufficient height to give some warmth, we had caught up the others of our party, and not sparing our horses, by two o'clock had passed through the street of rocks and came in sight of the toldos, where we shortly arrived.

Before sunset all the Tehuelches had returned to the bosoms of their families, and all were glad to sleep under the shelter of a toldo once more, after having passed twelve days and nights in stormy weather without any covering save our mantles.

The 14th of April, the morning after our return, a com- 1873
plaint was made by Foyel's people that the Tehuelche Indians left behind, thinking it useless to proceed to the plains, some miles distant, to hunt for the supply of the toldos whilst cattle and sheep were grazing in the immediate vicinity, had helped themselves in the obscurity of the night. Mafia corroborated the fact; and although he had been away hunting with the greatest assiduity, he had met with but little success, and complained bitterly of the hungry times they had endured.

Soon after our arrival Kai Chileno was seized with illness, 1874
and in a few days several of the more aged and children sickened with headache and fever, showing all the symptoms of severe influenza. Alarmed lest the sickness should spread, on the 10th of April most of the Tehuelches struck

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toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the continued illness of Gowiet and the others. Towards evening of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to drive away the Gualichu, and then retired.

We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Maria, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked an armed man.

We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintabeal considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party on route previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

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for the people. The rain which had been falling when we left, had turned to sleet driven by a strong westerly gale, and my load of mutton sadly interfered with the management of the sheltering mantle. Fortunately, as the direction of our route was easterly, we thus escaped having to face the storm, while the gale in our backs stimulated both horses and riders to their utmost speed.

At the entrance of the rock-strewn gorge which formed the eastern gateway of the valley of Gaylum, to the south of which towered the isolated column of rock, we were suddenly startled by the apparition of mounted Indians galloping towards us from the direction which our advanced party had taken. Conjectures as to possible calamity in the shape of a fight or accident were speedily dispelled, as they proved to be Tehuelches riding back in search of lost horses, which they averred had been stolen and craftily concealed by the Araucanians. So we continued our march through a succession of narrow rocky gorges winding amongst the hills, till, as the twilight was growing dark, we arrived, wet and weary, and feeling symptoms of illness, at the encampment situated in one of the usual grassy valleys. The toldo, when reached, proved to be in utter disorder, two of the women and a child having been attacked with the epidemic; so we set to work ourselves to light a fire, secure the skin covering of the toldo, and arrange the beds, and after a time the interior assumed a more ship-shape aspect, although the grass (our carpet) and everything else were wet. On every side one heard complaints of some child having fallen sick, and throughout the wailing cry of the women 'Ah gelay loo!' over their darlings rendered sleep all but impossible. Next morning broke fine and clear, so it was determined to march onwards in the hope that speedy change might get rid of the epidemic, but starting was almost as difficult as staying.

Of our party Mefia had returned to look for a missing horse; Crimè was dying, and Casimiro was attending to him; and what with sick friends and children all were

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occupied or distracted, and the business of catching the horses devolved on myself, single-handed at first. Having secured the troop, the next task was to catch my newly-acquired steed; the sight of a lazo was sufficient to make him gallop a league, and as he was very swift, three hours were spent in ineffectual efforts, but at last, two or three of my comrades coming up to my assistance, he was caught. Giving my fiibbertigibbet page charge of the remaining horses, I started, in company with one of my friends, to join the hunting circle, already in course of formation. [44]

We rode up a valley in an easterly direction, on our way passing the invalid Crimé, who, groaning with pain, lay stretched out at full length on a sort of couch composed of blankets on the horse's back, his wife leading the horse and wailing out loud. But as condolences were of little use, we passed on in silence, and shortly emerged from the valley which sloped up by gradual ascent to a wide plain of sandy soil and stunted bushes, bounded on the eastern horizon by a line of high jagged hills, which stretched to the southward as far as the eye could reach. While sitting under a bush by the fire, I was attacked with headache and sickness, the premonitory symptoms of the epidemic; however, I mounted and joined the hunting party, and at the end of the circle felt much better, although unable to eat. [758] [33]

The finish brought us to the entrance of a valley which wound among the precipitous rocky hills of the range seen from the farther verge of the plain. While watching the cavalcade of women and baggage, I looked long in vain for my own troop of four horses, but at last descried them trotting without a guide in the rear of the column, their natural sagacity or perhaps thirst having induced them to follow their comrades. The trusty page had left them to take care of themselves, and gone off hunting on his own account, which behaviour, repeated on a subsequent occasion, caused the loss of the stud. Towards evening we encamped in a valley enclosed by three hills, one of which, of decidedly

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this [65]
day's victims to the epidemic being Alge, Tankalow's
youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and
anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to [74]
witchcraft.

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since [52]
our departure from Teleh had been succeeded by a heavy,
murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a
downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more [65]
children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her
little mean was made, but the lamentations over the chil-
dren were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were
slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general con-
fusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious
desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had ren- [52]
dered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since
our departure from Goyhem we had had ample experience of
the wretched side of Pampa life.

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert [64]
that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when
in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been
occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by
our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced
and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided
the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children [65]
and several of the older people died during our progress
to Maquinchu, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot
be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the [52]
women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick
children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to
their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and
proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in
this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly
devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good
temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness,
and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance,

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Rheumatic affections, they told me, are very common among them; the chief showed me the arm of one of his wives, which was marred from the wrist to the shoulder by the awl; and the operation was afterwards performed on other members of the family.

Again we took up the line of march, travelling, as near as I could judge, west-north-west, and killing a quantity of game, both guanaco and ostrich. But the hardship of my life, aggravated by a constant fresh diet, and that eaten half raw, and at irregular seasons,—often going two days without food,—had, by this time, brought on a dysentery. This was no more than I had expected; but I knew of no remedy, and had to endure it as I could. We encamped, on the second day, near the banks of the river Gallegos; a fine spring of water issued from the river-bank into a low marshy ground, skirting the margin of the stream. By this time my illness had increased, till I felt unfit to travel further, and began to think that death could not be distant. No change of diet was practicable, and there was nothing to counteract its effect on my system. The pain and weariness of travelling did their part to aggravate the disorder; and mental discouragement—the sickness of hope deferred—completed my prostration. No human being in that desolate land cared for my sufferings, more than they would for those of a dog. Worn out with the constant irritations of a state of existence odious to every sensibility tired and disheartened, but for one thought I could have gladly laid myself down to die, to get at once and forever beyond the reach of my savage tormentors. The thought of home, of wife and child, of friends and country, and all the unutterable emotions that

It is unbelievable that these people

135 contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have found it and put it to use, and they would naturally have come upon it at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing from one site to another in order to obtain as the game which, according to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

41 The weapons which they like are the bolas and the lances, and also 43 knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [43] Aires or [78] also make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325 and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

726 In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge [78] of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's skins, with tight sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no knife or other can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt to climb the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is easily killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164 182] lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them.

133 From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487 to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where there are springs. As they have to travel uphill for to the west to do this the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

342 The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other; beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, , six others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the